

Senate

General Assembly

File No. 477

February Session, 2022

Substitute Senate Bill No. 431

Senate, April 14, 2022

The Committee on Government Administration and Elections reported through SEN. FLEXER of the 29th Dist., Chairperson of the Committee on the part of the Senate, that the substitute bill ought to pass.

AN ACT CONCERNING REFERENDA, INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES AND CERTAIN OTHER POLITICAL SPENDING.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Assembly convened:

- 1 Section 1. Section 9-601 of the 2022 supplement to the general statutes
- 2 is amended by adding subdivisions (33) to (39), inclusive, as follows
- 3 (*Effective from passage*):
- 4 (NEW) (33) "Independent expenditure political committee" means a
- 5 political committee that makes only (A) independent expenditures (i) to
- 6 promote the success or defeat of any candidate seeking (I) the
- 7 nomination for election, or (II) election, or (ii) for the purpose of aiding
- 8 or promoting the success or defeat of any (I) referendum question, or
- 9 (II) political party, and (B) contributions to other independent
- 10 expenditure political committees.
- 11 (NEW) (34) "Foreign national" means:
- 12 (A) A foreign principal and any agent or separate segregated fund of

- 13 a foreign principal;
- 14 (B) An individual who is not (i) a citizen of the United States, (ii) a
- 15 national of the United States, and (iii) lawfully admitted for permanent
- 16 residence; or
- 17 (C) A firm, partnership, corporation, association, organization or 18 other entity:
- 19 (i) With respect to which a foreign owner or a person described in
- 20 subparagraph (A) or (B) of this subdivision holds, owns, controls or
- 21 otherwise has a direct or indirect beneficial ownership of at least five
- 22 per cent of such entity's total equity or outstanding voting shares;
- 23 (ii) With respect to which two or more, in combination, foreign
- 24 owners or persons described in subparagraph (A) or (B) of this
- 25 subdivision hold, own, control or otherwise have a direct or indirect
- 26 beneficial ownership of at least twenty per cent of such entity's total
- 27 equity or outstanding voting shares, excluding interests held in a widely
- 28 held, diversified fund;
- 29 (iii) With respect to which a foreign owner or individual described in
- 30 subparagraph (A) or (B), as applicable, of this subdivision participates
- 31 directly or indirectly in decisions to engage in any activity subject to the
- 32 provisions of chapter 155 or 157; or
- 33 (iv) That is exempt from taxation under Section 501(c)(4) of the
- 34 Internal Revenue Code of 1986, or any subsequent corresponding
- 35 internal revenue code of the United States, as amended from time to
- 36 time, and with respect to which at least twenty per cent of the income
- 37 received by such entity in the most recent taxable year derives from one
- 38 or more foreign owners.
- 39 (NEW) (35) "Foreign principal" has the same meaning as provided in
- 40 22 USC 611(b), as amended from time to time.
- 41 (NEW) (36) "National of the United States" has the same meaning as
- 42 provided in 8 USC 1101(a)(22), as amended from time to time.

43 (NEW) (37) "Lawfully admitted for permanent residence" has the 44 same meaning as provided in 8 USC 1101(a)(20), as amended from time 45 to time.

(NEW) (38) "Foreign owner" means a firm, partnership, corporation, association, organization or other entity with respect to which a person described in subparagraph (A) or (B) of subdivision (34) of this section holds, owns, controls or otherwise has a direct or indirect beneficial ownership of at least fifty per cent of such entity's total equity or outstanding voting shares, excluding interests held in a widely held, diversified fund.

(NEW) (39) "Widely held, diversified fund" means a pooled investment, including a common trust fund of a financial institution, mutual fund or limited partnership, (A) that has more than one hundred investors, (B) that invests not more than five per cent of its value in the securities of a single issuer, other than the federal government, (C) that invests not more than twenty per cent of its value in any one economic or geographic sector, and (D) for which no investor, and no immediate family member of an investor, is able to exercise control over the financial interests held by the pooled investment, including by exercising the pooled investment's authority as the holder of corporate securities.

- Sec. 2. Subdivision (3) of section 9-601 of the 2022 supplement to the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
 - (3) "Political committee" means (A) a committee organized by a business entity or organization, (B) persons other than individuals, or two or more individuals organized or acting jointly conducting their activities in or outside the state, (C) an exploratory committee, (D) a committee established by or on behalf of a slate of candidates in a primary for the office of justice of the peace, but does not mean a candidate committee or a party committee, (E) a legislative caucus committee, [or] (F) a legislative leadership committee, or (G) an independent expenditure political committee.

Sec. 3. Section 9-601c of the general statutes is amended by adding subsection (e) as follows (*Effective from passage*):

- (NEW) (e) Notwithstanding the provisions of subsections (a) to (d), inclusive, of this section, an independent expenditure political committee may coordinate with one or more other independent expenditure political committees for the purpose of making one or more independent expenditures.
- Sec. 4. Subsections (a) to (i), inclusive, of section 9-601d of the general statutes are repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
- 86 (a) Any person, as defined in section 9-601, as amended by this act, 87 may, unless otherwise restricted or prohibited by law, including, but not 88 limited to, any provision of this chapter or chapter 157, make unlimited 89 independent expenditures, as defined in section 9-601c, as amended by 90 this act, and accept unlimited covered transfers, as defined in [said] 91 section 9-601, as amended by this act. Except as provided [pursuant to] 92 in this section, any such person who makes or obligates to make an 93 independent expenditure or expenditures in excess of one thousand 94 dollars, in the aggregate, shall file statements according to the same 95 schedule and in the same manner as is required of a treasurer of a 96 [candidate] political committee pursuant to section 9-608, as amended 97 by this act. Any such person, other than a committee, shall file with the 98 proper authority, as provided in section 9-603, as amended by this act, 99 (1) a long-form report and a short-form report pursuant to subsection 100 (c) of this section for such independent expenditure or expenditures, 101 and (2) a short-form report pursuant to subsection (d) of this section for 102 each subsequent independent expenditure made or obligated to be 103 made.
 - (b) Any person who makes or obligates to make an independent expenditure or expenditures in an election or primary for the office of Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of the State, State Treasurer, State Comptroller, Attorney General, state senator or state representative, [which] or to promote the success or defeat of a

104

105

106107

109 referendum question proposing a constitutional convention, 110 constitutional amendment or revision of the Constitution, that exceed 111 one thousand dollars, in the aggregate, during [a primary campaign or 112 a general election campaign, as defined in section 9-700, shall file, 113 electronically, a long-form and a short-form report of such independent 114 expenditure or expenditures with the State Elections Enforcement 115 Commission pursuant to subsections (c) and (d) of this section. The 116 person that makes or obligates to make such independent expenditure 117 or expenditures shall file such reports] the period beginning on June first in the year of a regular election, or on the day the Governor issues writs 118 119 of election pursuant to section 9-215 in the case of a special election for 120 the office of state senator or state representative, and ending on the day 121 following the primary or election for which such person made or 122 obligated to make such independent expenditure or expenditures, shall 123 electronically file, in the case of a committee, a report pursuant to section 124 9-608, as amended by this act, or, in the case of any person other than a 125 committee, a long-form report and a short-form report pursuant to 126 subsections (c) and (d) of this section not later than twenty-four hours 127 after (1) making any such payment, or (2) obligating to make any such payment, with respect to the primary, [or] election [. If any such person 128 129 makes or incurs a subsequent independent expenditure, such person 130 shall report such expenditure pursuant to subsection (d) of this section.] 131 or referendum. In the case of a special election for the office of state 132 senator or state representative, if any person makes or obligates to make 133 an independent expenditure or expenditures for such special election that exceeds one thousand dollars, in the aggregate, prior to the day the 134 Governor issues writs of election pursuant to section 9-215, such person 135 136 shall file a report not later than twenty-four hours after such writs of 137 election are issued. Such reports shall be filed under penalty of false 138 statement.

(c) The independent expenditure long-form report shall identify: (1) The name of the person making or obligating to make such <u>independent</u> expenditure or expenditures <u>and</u>, in the case of a person other than an <u>individual</u>, provide (A) the name of a human being who had direct, extensive and substantive decision-making authority over such

139

140

141

142

independent expenditure or expenditures, and (B) a certification that the 144 145 person making such independent expenditure is not a foreign national; (2) the tax exempt status of such person and, if [applicable] such person 146 147 files a report with the Federal Election Commission, the Internal 148 Revenue Service or any similar out-of-state agency, provide identifying 149 information under which any such filing is made; (3) the mailing 150 address, and street address if different, of such person; (4) the principal 151 business address of the person, if different from either the mailing 152 address or street address; (5) the mailing address, and street address if different, telephone number and electronic mail address of the agent for 153 154 service of process in this state of such person and of the human being 155 described in subparagraph (A) of subdivision (1) of this subsection; (6) the date of the primary, [or] election or referendum for which [the] such 156 157 independent expenditure or expenditures were made or obligated to be 158 made; (7) the name of any candidate who, or the text of any referendum 159 question that, was the subject of [any] such independent expenditure or expenditures and whether [the] such independent expenditure or 160 161 expenditures were in support of or in opposition to such candidate or 162 referendum question; and (8) the name, telephone number and electronic mail address for the individual filing such report. Such 163 164 individual filing such report shall, under penalty of false statement, 165 affirm that the expenditure reported is an independent expenditure. 166 [under penalty of false statement.]

(d) As part of any filing made pursuant to subsection (c) of this section and for each subsequent independent expenditure made or obligated to be made by a person with respect to the primary, [or] election or referendum for which a long-form report pursuant to subsection (c) of this section has been filed on behalf of such person, an individual shall file [, electronically,] a short-form report for each such independent expenditure. [, not later than twenty-four hours after such person makes a payment for an independent expenditure or obligates to make such an independent expenditure.] Such short-form report shall identify: (1) The name of the person making or obligating to make such independent expenditure; (2) the amount of the independent expenditure; (3) whether the independent expenditure was in support

167

168

169

170

171

172

173

174

175

176

177

of or in opposition to a candidate <u>or referendum question</u>; (4) a brief description of the <u>independent</u> expenditure made, including the type of communication, based on categories determined by the State Elections Enforcement Commission, and the allocation of such <u>independent</u> expenditure in support of or in opposition to each <u>such</u> candidate <u>or referendum question</u>, if such <u>independent</u> expenditure was made in support of or in opposition to more than one candidate <u>or question</u>; and (5) the name, telephone number and electronic mail address for the individual filing such report. Such individual filing such report shall, <u>under penalty of false statement</u>, affirm that the expenditure reported is an independent expenditure. [under penalty of false statement.]

- (e) No person reporting an independent expenditure pursuant to the provisions of subsection (c) or (d) of this section shall be required to file a statement pursuant to section 9-608, as amended by this act, for such independent expenditure.
- (f) (1) Except as provided in subdivision (2) of this subsection, as part of any statement filed pursuant to this section, if a person who makes or obligates to make an independent expenditure (A) has received a covered transfer during the twelve-month period prior to (i) a primary or election, as applicable to the reported expenditure, for an office that a candidate described in subdivision (7) of subsection (c) of this section is seeking, or (ii) a referendum on a question proposing a constitutional convention, constitutional amendment or revision of the Constitution, and (B) such independent expenditure is made or obligated to be made on or after the date that is one hundred eighty days prior to such primary, [or] election or referendum, such person shall disclose the source and the amount of any such covered transfer such person received that is in an amount that is five thousand dollars or more, in the aggregate, during the twelve-month period prior to such primary, [or] election or referendum, as applicable to the reported expenditure.
- (2) The provisions of subdivision (1) of this subsection shall not apply to any person who discloses the source and amount of a covered transfer

described in subdivision (1) of this subsection as part of any report to the Federal Election Commission, [or] the Internal Revenue Service or any similar out-of-state agency, provided such person includes a copy of, or information sufficient to find, any such report as part of the report of each applicable independent expenditure <u>filed</u> pursuant to this section. If a source and amount of a covered transfer is not included as part of any such report, the maker of the <u>independent</u> expenditure shall disclose the source and amount of such covered transfer pursuant to subdivision (1) of this subsection, if applicable.

- (g) (1) A person may, unless otherwise restricted or prohibited by law, including, but not limited to, any provision of this chapter or chapter 157, establish a dedicated independent expenditure account [, for the purpose of engaging in] that may be used to make independent expenditures, [that] provided such account is segregated from all other accounts controlled by such person. Such dedicated independent expenditure account may receive covered transfers directly from persons other than the person establishing the dedicated account and may not receive transfers from another account controlled by the person establishing the dedicated account, except as provided in subdivision (2) of this subsection. If an independent expenditure is made from such segregated account, any report required pursuant to this section or disclaimer required pursuant to section 9-621, as amended by this act, [may include only] shall include those persons who made covered transfers directly to the dedicated independent expenditure account.
- (2) If a person who has made a covered transfer to another account controlled by the person establishing a dedicated independent expenditure account requests that such covered transfer be used for the purposes of making an independent expenditure from the dedicated independent expenditure account, the amount of such covered transfer may be transferred to the dedicated independent expenditure account and shall be treated as a covered transfer directly to the dedicated independent expenditure account.
 - (h) Any person may file a complaint with the commission upon the

belief that (1) any such independent expenditure report or statement is false, or (2) any person who is required to file an independent expenditure report under this subsection has failed to do so. The commission shall make a prompt determination on such a complaint.

- (i) (1) [If] Notwithstanding the provisions of section 9-623, if (A) a person fails to file a report in accordance with the provisions of this section or section 9-608, as amended by this act, for an independent expenditure or expenditures made or obligated to be made more than ninety days before the day of a primary, [or election, the] election or referendum, such person shall be subject to a civil penalty, imposed by the State Elections Enforcement Commission, of not more than ten thousand dollars, [. If] and (B) a person fails to file a report required in accordance with the provisions of this section for an independent expenditure or expenditures made or obligated to be made ninety days or less before the day of a primary, [or] election or referendum, such person shall be subject to a civil penalty, imposed by the State Elections Enforcement Commission, of not more than twenty thousand dollars or twice the amount of such independent expenditure or expenditures, whichever is greater.
- (2) [If] Notwithstanding the provisions of section 9-623, if the State Elections Enforcement Commission finds that any such failure is knowing and wilful, [the] such person responsible for [the] such failure shall [also be fined] be subject to an additional civil penalty, imposed by the commission, of not more than fifty thousand dollars or ten times the amount of such independent expenditure or expenditures, whichever is greater, and the commission may refer the matter to the office of the Chief State's Attorney.
- (3) If the State Elections Enforcement Commission finds that a person is subject to a civil penalty under this subsection, (A) in the case of a committee, (i) the chairman, and (ii) any officer, or (B) in the case of a person other than a committee, (i) the chief executive or chief financial officer, or equivalent, (ii) any other officer, and (iii) any manager who had direct, extensive and substantive decision-making authority over

the independent expenditure or expenditures made or obligated to be made by such person, shall be liable for paying any amount of such civil penalty imposed that is not paid by such person within one year after the latter of (I) the date on which the commission imposed such civil penalty, or (II) the date of the final judgment following any judicial review of the commission's action.

Sec. 5. Subsection (b) of section 9-605 of the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):

(b) The registration statement shall include: (1) The name and address of the committee; (2) a statement of the purpose of the committee; (3) the name and address of its treasurer, and deputy treasurer if applicable; (4) the name, address and position of its [chairman] chairperson, and other principal officers if applicable; (5) the name and address of the depository institution for its funds; (6) the name of each person, other than an individual, that is a member of the committee; (7) the name and party affiliation of each candidate whom the committee is supporting and the office or position sought by each candidate; (8) if the committee is supporting the entire ticket of any party, a statement to that effect and the name of the party; (9) if the committee is supporting or opposing any referendum question, a brief statement identifying the substance of the question; (10) if the committee is established or controlled by a [business entity or organization] person or individual acting as the agent of a person, the name of [the entity or organization] such person or individual and, if the committee is established or controlled by a person or individual other than a human being, (A) the name of its chief executive officer or equivalent, and (B) a certification that such person is not a foreign national; (11) if the committee is established by an organization, a statement of whether it will receive its funds from the organization's treasury or from voluntary contributions; (12) if the committee files reports with the Federal Elections Commission, the Internal Revenue Service or any similar out-of-state agency, a statement to that effect including the name of the agency and identifying information under which any such filings are made; (13) a statement

284

285

286

287

288

289

290

291

292

293

294

295

296

297

298

299

300

301

302

303

304

305

306

307

308 309

310

indicating whether the committee is established for a single primary, election or referendum or for ongoing political activities; (14) if the committee is established or controlled by a lobbyist, a statement to that effect and the name of the lobbyist; (15) the name and address of the person making the initial contribution or disbursement, if any, to the committee; and (16) any information that the State Elections Enforcement Commission requires to facilitate compliance with the provisions of this chapter or chapter 157. If no such initial contribution or disbursement, as described in subdivision (15) of this subsection, has been made at the time of the filing of such statement, the treasurer of the committee shall, not later than forty-eight hours after receipt of such contribution or disbursement, file a report with the State Elections Enforcement Commission. The report shall be in the same form as statements filed under section 9-608, as amended by this act.

- Sec. 6. Subdivision (1) of subsection (g) of section 9-607 of the 2022 supplement to the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
- (g) (1) As used in this subsection, (A) "the lawful purposes of the committee" means: (i) For a candidate committee or exploratory committee, the promoting of the nomination or election of the candidate who established the committee, except that after a political party nominates candidates for election to the offices of Governor and Lieutenant Governor, whose names shall be so placed on the ballot in the election that an elector will cast a single vote for both candidates, as prescribed in section 9-181, a candidate committee established by either such candidate may also promote the election of the other such candidate; (ii) for a political committee, other than an independent expenditure political committee described in subparagraph (A)(iv) of this subdivision, the promoting of (I) a political party, including party building activities, (II) the success or defeat of candidates for nomination and election to public office or position subject to the requirements of this chapter, or (III) the success or defeat of referendum questions, provided [a political committee formed for a single referendum question shall not promote the success or defeat of any

candidate, and provided further] a legislative leadership committee or a legislative caucus committee may expend funds to defray costs for conducting legislative or constituency-related business which are not reimbursed or paid by the state; [and] (iii) for a party committee, the promoting of the party, including party building activities, the promoting of candidates of the party, and the continuing operating costs of the party; and (iv) for an independent expenditure political committee, the promoting of (I) a political party, (II) the success or defeat of candidates for nomination or election to public office or position subject to the requirements of this chapter, or (III) the success or defeat of referendum questions, and (B) "immediate family" means a spouse or dependent child of a candidate who resides in the candidate's household.

Sec. 7. Subparagraph (C) of subdivision (1) of subsection (e) of section 9-608 of the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):

(C) **[**(i) Each political committee formed solely to aid or promote the success or defeat of any referendum question, which does not receive contributions from a business entity or an organization, shall distribute its surplus to a party committee, to a political committee organized for ongoing political activities, to a national committee of a political party, to all contributors to the committee on a prorated basis of contribution, to state or municipal governments or agencies or to any organization which is a tax-exempt organization under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, or any subsequent corresponding internal revenue code of the United States, as from time to time amended. (ii) Each political committee formed solely to aid or promote the success or defeat of any referendum question, which receives contributions from a business entity or an organization] An independent expenditure political committee, other than an independent expenditure political committee formed for ongoing political activities, shall distribute its surplus to all contributors to the committee on a prorated basis of contribution, to state or municipal governments or agencies, or to any organization which is tax-exempt

under [said provisions] Sections 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(19) of the Internal Revenue Code, as amended from time to time. Notwithstanding the provisions of this subsection, a committee formed for a single referendum shall not be required to expend its surplus [not later than] within ninety days after the referendum and may continue in existence if a substantially similar referendum question on the same issue will be submitted to the electorate within six months after the first referendum. If two or more substantially similar referenda on the same issue are submitted to the electorate, each no more than six months apart, the committee shall expend such surplus within ninety days following the date of the last such referendum;

- Sec. 8. Section 9-611 of the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
 - (a) No individual shall make a contribution or contributions to, for the benefit of, or pursuant to the authorization or request of, a candidate or a committee supporting or opposing any candidate's campaign for nomination at a primary, or any candidate's campaign for election, to the office of (1) Governor, in excess of three thousand five hundred dollars; (2) Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of the State, Treasurer, Comptroller or Attorney General, in excess of two thousand dollars; (3) chief executive officer of a town, city or borough, in excess of one thousand dollars; (4) state senator or probate judge, in excess of one thousand dollars; or (5) state representative or any other office of a municipality not previously included in this subsection, in excess of two hundred fifty dollars. The limits imposed by this subsection shall be applied separately to primaries and elections.
 - (b) (1) No individual shall make a contribution or contributions to, or for the benefit of, an exploratory committee, in excess of three hundred seventy-five dollars, if the candidate establishing the exploratory committee certifies on the statement of organization for the exploratory committee pursuant to subsection (c) of section 9-604 that the candidate will not be a candidate for the office of state representative. No individual shall make a contribution or contributions to, or for the

benefit of, any exploratory committee, in excess of two hundred fifty dollars, if the candidate establishing the exploratory committee does not so certify.

- (2) No individual shall make a contribution or contributions to, or for the benefit of, a political committee formed by a slate of candidates in a primary for the office of justice of the peace, in excess of two hundred fifty dollars.
- [(c) No individual shall make contributions to such candidates or committees which in the aggregate exceed thirty thousand dollars for any single election and primary preliminary to such election.]
 - [(d)] (c) No individual shall make a contribution to any candidate or committee, other than a contribution in kind, in excess of one hundred dollars except by personal check or credit card of that individual.
 - [(e)] (d) No individual who is less than eighteen years of age shall make a contribution or contributions, in excess of thirty dollars to, for the benefit of, or pursuant to the authorization or request of: (1) A candidate or a committee supporting or opposing any candidate's campaign for nomination at a primary to any office; (2) a candidate or a committee supporting or opposing any candidate's campaign for election to any office; (3) an exploratory committee; (4) any other political committee in any calendar year; or (5) a party committee in any calendar year. Notwithstanding any provision of subdivision (2) of section 9-7b, any individual who is less than eighteen years of age who violates any provision of this subsection shall not be subject to the provisions of subdivision (2) of section 9-7b.
 - Sec. 9. Subsections (a) and (b) of section 9-612 of the 2022 supplement to the general statutes are repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
 - (a) (1) No individual shall make a contribution or contributions in any one calendar year in excess of ten thousand dollars to the state central committee of any party, or for the benefit of such committee pursuant

423

424

425

426

427

428

429

430

431

432

433

434 435

436

437

438

439

440

441

442

to its authorization or request; or two thousand dollars to a town committee of any political party, or for the benefit of such committee pursuant to its authorization or request; or two thousand dollars to a legislative caucus committee or legislative leadership committee; [,] or one thousand dollars to any other political committee [other than (1)] except (A) a political committee formed solely to aid or promote the success or defeat of a referendum question, [(2)] (B) an exploratory committee, [(3)] (C) a political committee established by an organization, or for the benefit of such committee pursuant to its authorization or request, or [(4)] (D) a political committee formed by a slate of candidates in a primary for the office of justice of the peace of the same town.

- (2) Notwithstanding the provisions of subdivision (1) of this subsection and unless otherwise restricted or prohibited by law, an individual may make contributions to an independent expenditure political committee, including a political committee formed solely to aid or promote the success or defeat of any referendum question.
- (b) (1) No individual shall make a contribution to a political committee established by an organization which receives its funds from the organization's treasury. With respect to a political committee established by an organization which has complied with the provisions of subsection (b) or (c) of section 9-614, as amended by this act, and has elected to receive contributions, no individual other than a member of the organization may make contributions to the committee, in which case the individual may contribute not more than seven hundred fifty dollars in any one calendar year to such committee or for the benefit of such committee pursuant to its authorization or request.
- (2) Notwithstanding the provisions of subdivision (1) of this subsection and unless otherwise restricted or prohibited by law, an individual may make contributions to an independent expenditure political committee established by an organization.
- Sec. 10. Section 9-613 of the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):

(a) [No] Except as provided in subsection (f) of this section, a business entity shall <u>not</u> make any contributions or expenditures (1) to, or for the benefit of, any candidate's campaign (A) for election to any public office or position subject to this chapter, or (B) for nomination at a primary for any such office or position, or (2) to promote the defeat of any candidate for any such office or position. [No] A business entity shall <u>not</u> make any other contributions or expenditures to promote the success or defeat of any political party. [, except as provided in subsection (b) of this section. No] A business entity shall <u>not</u> establish more than one political committee. A political committee shall be deemed to have been established by a business entity if the initial disbursement or contribution to the committee is made under subsection (b) of this section or by an officer, director, owner, limited or general partner or holder of stock constituting five per cent or more of the total outstanding stock of any class of the business entity.

- (b) A business entity may make reasonable and necessary transfers or disbursements to or for the benefit of a political committee established by such business entity, for the administration of, or solicitation of contributions to, such political committee. Nonmonetary contributions by a business entity which are incidental in nature and are directly attributable to the administration of such political committee shall be exempt from the reporting requirements of this chapter.
- [(c) The provisions of this section shall not preclude a business entity from making contributions or expenditures to promote the success or defeat of a referendum question.]
- [(d) A] (c) Except as provided in subsection (f) of this section, a political committee organized by a business entity shall not make a contribution or contributions to or for the benefit of any candidate's campaign for nomination at a primary or any candidate's campaign for election to the office of: (1) Governor, in excess of five thousand dollars; (2) Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of the State, Treasurer, Comptroller or Attorney General, in excess of three thousand dollars; (3) state senator, probate judge or chief executive officer of a town, city or

borough, in excess of one thousand five hundred dollars; (4) state representative, in excess of seven hundred fifty dollars; or (5) any other office of a municipality not included in subdivision (3) of this subsection, in excess of three hundred seventy-five dollars. The limits imposed by this subsection shall apply separately to primaries and elections and contributions by any such committee to candidates designated in this subsection shall not exceed one hundred thousand dollars in the aggregate for any single election and primary preliminary thereto. Contributions to such committees shall also be subject to the provisions of section 9-618, as amended by this act, in the case of committees formed for ongoing political activity or section 9-619, as amended by this act, in the case of committees formed for a single election or primary.

[(e) No] (d) Except as provided in subsection (f) of this section, a political committee organized by a business entity shall <u>not</u> make a contribution or contributions to (1) a state central committee of a political party, in excess of seven thousand five hundred dollars in any calendar year, (2) a town committee of any political party, in excess of one thousand five hundred dollars in any calendar year, (3) an exploratory committee in excess of three hundred seventy-five dollars, or (4) any other kind of political committee, in excess of two thousand dollars in any calendar year.

[(f)] (e) As used in this subsection, "investment services" means investment legal services, investment banking services, investment advisory services, underwriting services, financial advisory services or brokerage firm services. [No] A political committee established by a firm which provides investment services and to which the State Treasurer pays compensation, expenses or fees or issues a contract shall not make a contribution to, or solicit contributions on behalf of, an exploratory committee or candidate committee established by a candidate for nomination or election to the office of State Treasurer during the term of office of the State Treasurer who does business with such firm.

[(g)] (f) (1) Notwithstanding the provisions of [this section, a corporation, cooperative association, limited partnership, professional association, limited liability company or limited liability partnership, whether formed in this state or any other, acting alone,] subsections (a) to (e), inclusive, of this section, a business entity may make independent expenditures and contributions to an independent expenditure political committee.

- (2) An independent expenditure political committee organized by a
 business entity shall not make any contribution unless such contribution
 is to another independent expenditure political committee.
- Sec. 11. Section 9-614 of the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
 - (a) An organization may make contributions or expenditures, other than [those made to promote] for the purpose of promoting the success or defeat of a referendum question, only by first forming its own political committee. [The] Unless such political committee is an independent expenditure political committee, the political committee shall then be authorized to (1) receive funds (A) exclusively from the organization's treasury or from voluntary contributions made by its members, but not both, (B) from another political committee, or [,] (C) from a candidate committee distributing a surplus, and [(1) to] (2) make (A) contributions or expenditures to, or for the benefit of, a candidate's campaign or a political party, or [(2) to make] (B) contributions to another political committee. [No] An organization shall not form more than one political committee. A political committee shall be deemed to have been established by an organization if the initial contribution to the committee is made by the organization's treasury or an officer or director of the organization.
 - (b) A political committee established by an organization may elect to alter the manner in which it is funded if it complies with the requirements of this subsection. The committee chairperson shall notify the repository with which the committee's most recent statement of organization is filed, in writing, of the committee's intent to alter its

543544

545

546

547

548

549

555

556

557

558

559

560

561

562

563

564

565

566

567

568

569

570

571

572

573

574

manner of funding. [Within] Not later than fifteen days after the date of receipt of such notification, the treasurer of such political committee shall return any funds remaining in the account of the committee to the organization's treasury after payment of each outstanding liability. [Within] Not later than seven days after the distribution and payments have been made, the treasurer shall file a statement with the same repository itemizing each such distribution and payment. Upon such filing, the treasurer may receive voluntary contributions from any member of the organization which established such committee subject to the limitations imposed in subsection (b) of section 9-612, as amended by this act.

- (c) The chairperson of each political committee established by an organization on or after July 1, 1985, shall designate the manner in which the committee shall be funded in the committee's statement of organization.
- (d) Notwithstanding the provisions of <u>subsections (a) to (c), inclusive,</u>
 of this section, an organization [, acting alone,] may make independent
 expenditures <u>and contributions to an independent expenditure political</u>
 committee.
- Sec. 12. Section 9-615 of the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
- (a) [No] A political committee established by an organization shall not make a contribution or contributions to, or for the benefit of, any candidate's campaign for nomination at a primary or for election to the office of: (1) Governor, in excess of five thousand dollars; (2) Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of the State, Treasurer, Comptroller or Attorney General, in excess of three thousand dollars; (3) chief executive officer of a town, city or borough, in excess of one thousand five hundred dollars; (4) state senator or probate judge, in excess of one thousand five hundred dollars; (5) state representative, in excess of seven hundred fifty dollars; or (6) any other office of a municipality not previously included in this subsection, in excess of three hundred seventy-five dollars.

(b) [No such] A political committee established by an organization shall <u>not</u> make a contribution or contributions to, or for the benefit of, an exploratory committee, in excess of three hundred seventy-five dollars. [Any such] A political committee established by an organization may make unlimited contributions to a political committee formed solely to aid or promote the success or defeat of a referendum question.

- (c) The limits imposed by subsection (a) of this section shall apply separately to primaries and elections, and no such committee shall make contributions to the candidates designated in this section which in the aggregate exceed fifty thousand dollars for any single election and primary preliminary thereto.
- (d) [No] Except as provided in subsection (f) of this section, a political committee established by an organization shall <u>not</u> make contributions in any one calendar year to, or for the benefit of, (1) the state central committee of a political party, in excess of seven thousand five hundred dollars; (2) a town committee, in excess of one thousand five hundred dollars; or (3) any political committee, other than an exploratory committee or a committee formed solely to aid or promote the success or defeat of a referendum question, in excess of two thousand dollars.
- (e) Contributions to a political committee established by an organization shall be subject to the provisions of section 9-618, as amended by this act, in the case of a committee formed for ongoing political activity or section 9-619, as amended by this act, in the case of a committee formed for a single election or primary.
- 633 (f) An independent expenditure political committee established by an 634 organization shall not make any contribution unless such contribution 635 is to another independent expenditure political committee.
- Sec. 13. Subsection (a) of section 9-618 of the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
- (a) (1) A political committee organized for ongoing political activities

may make unlimited contributions to, or for the benefit of, any national committee of a political party [;] or a committee of a candidate for federal or out-of-state office. Except as provided in subdivision (3) of subsection (d) of this section, no such political committee shall make a contribution or contributions in excess of two thousand dollars to another political committee in any calendar year. No political committee organized for ongoing political activities shall make a contribution in excess of three hundred seventy-five dollars to an exploratory committee. If such an ongoing committee is established by an organization or a business entity, its contributions shall be subject to the limits imposed by sections 9-613 to 9-615, inclusive, as amended by this act. A political committee organized for ongoing political activities may make [contributions] donations to a charitable organization which is a tax-exempt organization under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code, as from time to time amended, or make memorial [contributions] donations.

- (2) An independent expenditure political committee organized for ongoing political activities shall not make any contribution unless such contribution is to another independent expenditure political committee.
- Sec. 14. Subsection (a) of section 9-619 of the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
 - (a) [No] (1) A political committee established for a single primary or election shall <u>not</u> make contributions to a national committee, or a committee of a candidate for federal or out-of-state office. If such a political committee is established by an organization or a business entity, its contributions shall also be subject to the limitations imposed by sections 9-613 to 9-615, inclusive, as amended by this act. Except as provided in subdivision (2) of subsection (d) of this section, [no] a political committee [formed] <u>established</u> for a single election or primary shall <u>not</u>, with respect to such election or primary, make a contribution or contributions in excess of two thousand dollars to another political committee, provided [no such] a political committee <u>established</u> for a

640

641

642

643

644

645

646

647

648

649

650

651

652

653

654

655

656

657

658

662

663

664

665

666

667

668

669 670

single election or primary shall not make a contribution in excess of
 three hundred seventy-five dollars to an exploratory committee.

- (2) An independent expenditure political committee established for a single primary or election shall not make any contribution unless such contribution is to another independent expenditure political committee.
- Sec. 15. Section 9-620 of the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
 - (a) [A political committee formed solely to aid or promote the success or defeat of a referendum question shall not make contributions to, or for the benefit of, a party committee, a political committee, a national committee, a committee of a candidate for federal or out-of-state office or a candidate committee, except in the distribution of a surplus, as provided in subsection (e) of section 9-608.] Subject to the provisions of this chapter, any person may establish an independent expenditure political committee that may only make expenditures without the consent, coordination or consultation of, a candidate or agent of the candidate, candidate committee, party committee or political committee. Subject to the provisions of this chapter, any such independent expenditure political committee may accept contributions from any person.
 - (b) [A political committee formed solely to aid or promote the success or defeat of a referendum question shall not receive contributions from a national committee or from a committee of a candidate for federal or out-of-state office.] Any person may establish an independent expenditure political committee solely to aid or promote the success or defeat of a single referendum question, or of multiple referendum questions submitted to a vote on the same date. Such committee may only make independent expenditures to aid or promote the success or defeat of a single referendum question, or of multiple referendum questions submitted to a vote on the same date. Subject to the provisions of this chapter, such committee may accept contributions from any person.

(c) [No person, other than an individual or a committee, shall make a contribution to a political committee formed solely to aid or promote the success or defeat of a referendum question, or to any other person, to aid or promote the success or defeat of a referendum question, in excess of ten cents for each individual residing in the state or political subdivision thereof in which such referendum question is to be voted upon, in accordance with the last federal decennial census.] Except as provided in this section, an independent expenditure political committee shall not make contributions to, or for the benefit of, a party committee, a political committee, a national committee, a committee of a candidate for federal or out-of-state office or a candidate committee.

- (d) Notwithstanding the provisions of subsections (a) to (c), inclusive, of this section, an independent expenditure political committee may make contributions to another independent expenditure political committee, make donations to any organization which is a tax-exempt organization under Sections 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(19) of the Internal Revenue Code, as amended from time to time, and refund contributions to contributors.
- Sec. 16. Subsections (c) to (l), inclusive, of section 9-621 of the general statutes are repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
 - (c) (1) No business entity, organization, association, committee, or group of two or more individuals who have joined solely to promote the success or defeat of a referendum question shall make or incur any expenditure for any written, typed or other printed communication which promotes the success or defeat of any referendum question unless such communication bears upon its face, as a disclaimer, the words "paid for by" and the following: [(1)] (A) In the case of a business entity, organization or association, the name of the business entity, organization or association and the name of its chief executive officer or equivalent, and in the case such communication is made during the ninety-day period immediately prior to the referendum, such communication shall also bear on its face the names of the five persons

who made the five largest aggregate covered transfers to such business entity, organization or association during the twelve-month period immediately prior to such referendum. The communication shall also state that additional information about the business entity, organization or association making such communication may be found on the State Elections Enforcement Commission's Internet web site; [(2)] (B) in the case of a political committee, the name of the committee and the name of its treasurer; [(3)] (C) in the case of a party committee, the name of the committee; or [(4)] (D) in the case of such a group of two or more individuals, the name of the group and the name and address of its agent.

- (2) No person shall make or incur an independent expenditure for:
- 750 (A) A video broadcast by television, satellite or Internet which 751 promotes the success or defeat of any referendum question unless such 752 video is accompanied by the disclaimer described in subdivision (2) of 753 subsection (h) of this section;
 - (B) An audio communication broadcast by radio, satellite or Internet which promotes the success or defeat of any referendum question unless such audio communication is accompanied by the disclaimer described in subdivision (3) of subsection (h) of this section; and
 - (C) Telephone calls which promote the success or defeat of any referendum question unless such telephone calls are accompanied by the disclaimer described in subdivision (4) of subsection (h) of this section.
 - (d) The provisions of subsections (a), (b)₂ [and] (c) <u>and (h)</u> of this section do not apply to (1) any editorial, news story, or commentary published in any newspaper, magazine or journal on its own behalf and upon its own responsibility and for which it does not charge or receive any compensation whatsoever, (2) any banner, (3) political paraphernalia including pins, buttons, badges, emblems, hats, bumper stickers or other similar materials, or (4) signs with a surface area of not more than thirty-two square feet.

(e) The treasurer of a candidate committee which sponsors any written, typed or other printed communication for the purpose of raising funds to eliminate a campaign deficit of that committee shall include in such communication a statement that the funds are sought to eliminate such a deficit.

- (f) The treasurer of an exploratory committee or candidate committee established by a candidate for nomination or election to the office of Treasurer which committee sponsors any written, typed or other printed communication for the purpose of raising funds shall include in such communication a statement concerning the prohibitions set forth in subsection (n) of section 1-84, subsection (e) of section 9-612 and subsection (f) of section 9-613, as amended by this act.
- (g) In the event a treasurer of a candidate committee is replaced pursuant to subsection (c) of section 9-602, nothing in this section shall be construed to prohibit the candidate committee from distributing any printed communication subject to the provisions of this section that has already been printed or otherwise produced, even though such communication does not accurately designate the successor treasurer of such candidate committee.
- (h) (1) No person shall make or incur an independent expenditure for any written, typed or other printed communication, including on a billboard, or any web-based, written communication, which promotes the success or defeat of any candidate's campaign for nomination at a primary or election unless such communication bears upon its face, as a disclaimer, the words "Paid for by" and the name of such person and the following statement: "This message was made independent of any candidate or political party.". In the case of a person making or incurring such an independent expenditure during the ninety-day period immediately prior to the primary or election for which the independent expenditure is made, such communication shall also bear upon its face the names of the five persons who made the five largest aggregate covered transfers to the person making such communication during the twelve-month period immediately prior to such primary or election, as

applicable. The communication shall also state that additional information about the person making such communication may be found on the State Elections Enforcement Commission's Internet web site.

- (2) In addition to the requirements of subdivision (1) of this subsection, no person shall make or incur an independent expenditure for a video broadcast by television, satellite or Internet, unless at the end of such advertising there appears for a period of not less than four seconds as a disclaimer, the following as an audio message and a written statement: "This message was paid for by (person making the communication) and made independent of any candidate or political party.". In the case of a person making or incurring such an independent expenditure during the ninety-day period immediately prior to the primary or election for which the independent expenditure is made, such communication shall also list the names of the five persons who made the five largest aggregate covered transfers to the person making such communication during the twelve-month period immediately prior to such primary or election, as applicable. The communication shall also state that additional information about the person making such communication may be found on the State Elections Enforcement Commission's Internet web site.
- (3) In addition to the requirements of subdivision (1) of this subsection, no person shall make or incur an independent expenditure for an audio communication broadcast by radio, satellite or Internet, unless the advertising ends with a disclaimer that is a personal audio statement by such person's agent (A) identifying the person paying for the expenditure, and (B) indicating that the message was made independent of any candidate or political party, using the following form: "I am (name of the person's agent), (title), of (the person). This message was made independent of any candidate or political party." In the case of a person making or incurring such an independent expenditure during the ninety-day period immediately prior to the primary or election for which the independent expenditure is made, such communication shall state the names of the five persons who made

the five largest aggregate covered transfers to the person making such communication during the twelve-month period immediately prior to such primary or election, as applicable. The communication shall also state that additional information about the person making such communication may be found on the State Elections Enforcement Commission's Internet web site.

- (4) In addition to the requirements of subdivision (1) of this subsection, no person shall make or incur an independent expenditure for telephone calls, unless the narrative of the telephone call identifies the person making the expenditure and during the ninety-day period immediately prior to the primary or election for which the independent expenditure is made, such communication shall state the names of the five persons who made the five largest aggregate covered transfers to the person making such communication during the twelve-month period immediately prior to such primary or election, as applicable. The communication shall also state that additional information about the person making such communication may be found on the State Elections Enforcement Commission's Internet web site.
- (i) In any [print, television or social media promotion of a slate of] organization expenditure for a party candidate listing of a candidate or candidates by a party committee, [the party] legislative caucus committee or legislative leadership committee, such committee shall use applicable disclaimers pursuant to the provisions of this section for such promotion, and no individual candidate disclaimers shall be required.
- (j) (1) Except as provided in subdivisions (2) and (3) of this subsection, if any person whose name is included on a disclaimer of a communication pursuant to the provisions of this section, as a person who made a covered transfer to the maker of the communication, is also a recipient of a covered transfer, the maker of the communication, as part of any report filed pursuant to section 9-601d, as amended by this act, associated with the making of such communication, shall include the names of the five persons who made the top five largest aggregate covered transfers to such recipient during the twelve-month period

immediately prior to the primary or election, as applicable.

(2) The name of any person who made a covered transfer to a tax-exempt organization recognized under Section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, or any subsequent corresponding internal revenue code of the United States, as amended from time to time, that has not had its tax exempt status revoked, shall not be disclosed pursuant to the provisions of subdivision (1) of this subsection.

- (3) The name of any person who made a covered transfer to a person whose name is included on a disclaimer pursuant to the provisions of this section shall not be disclosed pursuant to the provisions of subdivision (1) of this subsection if the recipient of such covered transfer accepts covered transfers from at least one hundred different sources, provided no such source accounts for ten per cent or more of the total amount of covered transfers accepted by the recipient during the twelve-month period immediately prior to the primary or election, as applicable.
- (k) Any disclaimer required to be on the face of a written, typed or other printed communication pursuant to the provisions of this section shall be printed in no smaller than eight-point type of uniform font when such disclaimer is on a communication contained in a flyer or leaflet, newspaper, magazine or similar literature, or that is delivered by mail.
- (l) Notwithstanding the provisions of this section, no person making an independent expenditure for a communication shall be required to list as part of any disclaimer pursuant to this section any person whose covered transfers to the maker of the communication are not in an aggregate amount of five thousand dollars or more during the twelvementh period immediately prior to the primary, [or] election or referendum, as applicable, for which such independent expenditure is made.
- Sec. 17. (NEW) (*Effective from passage*) (a) A foreign national, as defined in section 9-601 of the general statutes, as amended by this act,

shall not make, directly or indirectly, (1) any contribution, as defined in section 9-601a of the general statutes, or any express or implied promise to make any such contribution, or (2) any expenditure, as defined in section 9-601b of the general statutes.

- (b) A person shall not solicit, accept or receive a contribution or covered transfer, as defined in section 9-601 of the general statutes, as amended by this act, from a foreign national.
- 909 Sec. 18. Subdivision (1) of subsection (g) of section 9-7a of the general 910 statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof 911 (*Effective July 1, 2022*):
 - (g) (1) (A) In the case of a written complaint filed with the commission pursuant to section 9-7b, commission staff shall conduct and complete a preliminary examination of such complaint by the fourteenth day following its receipt, at which time such staff shall, at its discretion, [(A)] (i) dismiss the complaint for failure to allege any substantial violation of state election law supported by evidence, [(B)] (ii) engage the respondent in discussions in an effort to speedily resolve any matter pertaining to a de minimis violation, or [(C)] (iii) investigate and docket the complaint for a determination by the commission that probable cause or no probable cause exists for any such violation. If commission staff dismisses a complaint pursuant to subparagraph (A)(i) of this subdivision, such staff shall provide a brief written statement concisely setting forth the reasons for such dismissal. If commission staff engages a respondent pursuant to subparagraph [(B)] (A)(ii) of this subdivision but is unable to speedily resolve any such matter described in said subparagraph by the forty-fifth day following receipt of the complaint, such staff shall docket such complaint for a determination by the commission that probable cause or no probable cause exists for any violation of state election law. If the commission does not, by the sixtieth day following receipt of the complaint, either issue a decision or render its determination that probable cause or no probable cause exists for any violation of state election laws, the complainant or respondent may apply to the superior court for the judicial district of Hartford for an

902

903

904

905

906

907

908

912

913

914

915

916

917

918

919

920

921

922

923

924

925

926

927

928

929

930

931

932

933

order to show cause why the commission has not acted upon the complaint and to provide evidence that the commission has unreasonably delayed action.

(B) (i) For any complaint received on or after January 1, 2018, but prior to July 1, 2022, if the commission does not, by one year following receipt of such complaint, issue a decision thereon, the commission shall dismiss such complaint, provided the length of time of any delay caused by [(i)] (I) the commission or commission staff granting any extension or continuance to a respondent prior to the issuance of any such decision, [(ii)] (II) any subpoena issued in connection with such complaint, I(iii)] (III) any litigation in state or federal court related to such complaint, or [(iv)] (IV) any investigation by, or consultation of the commission or commission staff with, the Chief State's Attorney, the Attorney General, the United States Department of Justice or the United States Attorney for Connecticut related to such complaint, shall be added to such one year.

(ii) For any complaint received on or after July 1, 2022, if the commission does not, by one year following receipt of such complaint, find reason to believe that a violation of state election law has been committed and commence a contested case, as defined in section 4-166, the commission shall dismiss such complaint, provided the length of time of any delay caused by (I) the commission or commission staff granting any extension or continuance to a respondent prior to the issuance of any such decision, (II) any subpoena issued in connection with such complaint, (III) any litigation in state or federal court related to such complaint, (IV) any investigation by the commission or commission staff involving a potential violation of state election law by a foreign national or section 9-601c or 9-601d, as amended by this act, or (V) any investigation by, or consultation of the commission or commission staff with, the Chief State's Attorney, the Attorney General, the United States Department of Justice or the United States Attorney for Connecticut related to such complaint, shall be added to such one <u>yea</u>r.

This act sha	ll take effect as follows and	d shall amend the following		
sections:				
Section 1	from passage	9-601		
Sec. 2	from passage	9-601(3)		
Sec. 3	from passage	9-601c		
Sec. 4	from passage	9-601d(a) to (i)		
Sec. 5	from passage	9-605(b)		
Sec. 6	from passage	9-607(g)(1)		
Sec. 7	from passage	9-608(e)(1)(C)		
Sec. 8	from passage	9-611		
Sec. 9	from passage	9-612(a) and (b)		
Sec. 10	from passage	9-613		
Sec. 11	from passage	9-614		
Sec. 12	from passage	9-615		
Sec. 13	from passage	9-618(a)		
Sec. 14	from passage	9-619(a)		
Sec. 15	from passage	9-620		
Sec. 16	from passage	9-621(c) to (l)		
Sec. 17	from passage	New section		
Sec. 18	July 1, 2022	9-7a(g)(1)		

Statement of Legislative Commissioners:

In Section 1(34), Subpara. (B) was rewritten for clarity and "of the general statutes" was deleted in Subpara. (C)(iii) for accuracy; in Section 7(e)(1)(C), "not later than ninety" was changed to "[not later than] within ninety" for clarity and consistency; in Section 15(d), "may refund" was changed to "refund" for accuracy; and in Section 18(g)(1)(B)(i), "and prior" was changed to "but prior" for clarity and the existing provisions were redesignated for accuracy.

GAE Joint Favorable Subst. -LCO

The following Fiscal Impact Statement and Bill Analysis are prepared for the benefit of the members of the General Assembly, solely for purposes of information, summarization and explanation and do not represent the intent of the General Assembly or either chamber thereof for any purpose. In general, fiscal impacts are based upon a variety of informational sources, including the analyst's professional knowledge. Whenever applicable, agency data is consulted as part of the analysis, however final products do not necessarily reflect an assessment from any specific department.

OFA Fiscal Note

State Impact:

Agency Affected	Fund-Effect	FY 23 \$	FY 24 \$
Elections Enforcement	GF - Potential	See Below	See Below
Commission	Revenue Gain		

Note: GF=General Fund

Municipal Impact: None

Explanation

This bill makes various changes to laws affecting campaign finance and elections that is not anticipated to result in a fiscal impact to the state or municipalities.

The bill increases the maximum penalties the State Elections Enforcement Commission (SEEC) may impose for failing to file certain independent expenditure reports. Under this bill, the maximum penalty may be up to \$50,000 or 10 times the amount of any unreported expenditures, whichever is greater, and is dependent on the type of penalty. Potential revenue gain will be dependent on the type and the number of penalties.

The Out Years

The annualized ongoing fiscal impact identified above would continue into the future subject to inflation.

OLR Bill Analysis SB 431

AN ACT CONCERNING REFERENDA, INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES AND CERTAIN OTHER POLITICAL SPENDING.

SUMMARY

This bill changes laws affecting campaign finance and elections. Principally, it does the following:

- 1. prohibits foreign nationals from making contributions or expenditures under the state's campaign finance laws (§§ 1 & 17);
- 2. codifies "independent expenditure political committee" (known as an IE-only PAC) as a type of political committee (PAC) and requires IE-only PACs to register with the State Elections Enforcement Commission (SEEC) (§§ 1-3, 6-7 & 9-15);
- 3. classifies referendum PACs as IE-only PACs and makes conforming changes (§ 15);
- 4. expands IE disclosure requirements (§ 4);
- 5. increases the maximum penalties for failing to file IE reports (§ 4);
- 6. modifies PAC registration requirements, including expanding the contents of the registration statement (§ 5);
- 7. eliminates aggregate individual contribution limits to certain committees (§ 8);
- 8. expands disclaimer requirements for referenda and party candidate listings (§ 16); and
- 9. narrows the circumstances under which SEEC must dismiss a

complaint within one year after receiving it (§ 18).

The bill also makes minor, technical, and conforming changes.

EFFECTIVE DATE: Upon passage, except that the provisions on SEEC complaints are effective July 1, 2022.

§§ 1 & 17 — FOREIGN NATIONALS

Federal law generally prohibits foreign nationals from making contributions, donations, or IEs in connection with federal, state, or local elections (see BACKGROUND). The bill explicitly prohibits foreign nationals (as defined in the bill, see below) from making contributions (or expressly or impliedly promising to do so) or expenditures that are subject to the state's campaign finance laws. It similarly prohibits a person from soliciting, accepting, or receiving a contribution or covered transfer from a foreign national. By law, a "covered transfer" is, with certain exceptions, any donation, transfer, or payment of funds by a person to a recipient that (1) makes IEs or (2) transfers funds to another person that makes IEs (CGS § 9-601(29)).

The bill's prohibitions expand upon those in federal law by, among other things, explicitly applying them to referenda. The bill also subjects additional persons to the prohibitions by defining "foreign national" for purposes of state campaign finance laws more broadly than federal law does (see BACKGROUND).

Definitions (§ 1)

Foreign National. Under the bill, "foreign national" includes (1) a foreign principal (as defined in federal law, see below) and any agent or segregated fund of the principal; (2) an individual who is not a U.S. citizen or national or lawfully admitted for permanent residence; and (3) certain entities with foreign owners (see below).

Under the bill, a "foreign owner" is an entity in which a foreign national holds, owns, controls, or otherwise has directly or indirectly acquired beneficial ownership of at least 50% of the total equity or outstanding voting shares, other than interests held in a widely held,

diversified fund (i.e., a pooled investment that, among other things, has at least 100 investors, with no investor able to exercise control over the investment's financial interests).

The bill deems an entity to be a foreign national if it meets any of the below criteria:

- 1. one "foreign owner" or "foreign national" (as described above) holds, owns, controls, or has directly or indirectly acquired beneficial ownership of at least 5% of the total equity or outstanding voting shares;
- 2. multiple foreign owners or nationals hold, own, control, or have directly or indirectly acquired beneficial ownership of at least 20% of the total equity or outstanding voting shares, other than interests held in a widely held, diversified fund (as described above);
- 3. any foreign owner or national directly or indirectly participates in decisions to engage in any activity subject to state campaign finance laws, including the Citizens' Election Program; or
- 4. (a) at least 20 % of the organization's income in the most recent taxable year is from one or more foreign owners and (b) the organization is a tax-exempt 501(c)(4) entity.

Foreign Principal. Under federal law, "foreign principal" (deemed to be a foreign national under the bill) includes the following:

- 1. a government of a foreign country and a foreign political party;
- 2. a person outside of the United States unless it is established that the person is (a) an individual and a U.S. citizen domiciled within the United States or (b) not an individual, has its principal place of business in the United States, and is organized under, or created by, the United States, a state, or other place subject to U.S. jurisdiction;

3. a partnership, association, corporation, organization, or other combination of persons organized under the laws of, or having its principal place of business in, a foreign country (22 U.S.C. § 611(b)).

§§ 1-3, 6-7 & 9-15 — IE-ONLY PACS

The law authorizes persons (including individuals, entities, and committees) to make unlimited IEs and defines "independent expenditure" as an expenditure made without the consent, coordination, or consultation of a (1) candidate or candidate's agent, (2) candidate committee, (3) PAC, or (4) party committee.

The bill codifies "independent expenditure political committee" (known as an IE-only PAC) as a type of PAC under Connecticut's campaign finance laws and, like other committees that make IEs, requires their registration with SEEC. It defines them as PACs that make only (1) IEs and (2) contributions to other IE-only PACs (see BACKGROUND). It also allows these PACs to (1) coordinate with other IE-only PACs to make IEs and (2) make donations to tax-exempt 501(c)(3) (nonprofit) and 501(c)(19) (veterans) organizations and refund contributor contributions.

The bill makes several conforming changes, including specifying that (1) individuals, business entities, and labor unions may make contributions to IE-only PACs and (2) various types of IE-only PACs, such as those formed for a single election or primary, may not make contributions except to other IE-only PACs (see BACKGROUND). It also classifies referendum PACs as IE-only PACs.

Lawful Purposes (§ 6)

The bill defines "lawful purposes of the committee" for IE-only PACs as promoting the following:

- 1. a political party,
- 2. the success or defeat of candidates for nomination or election to a public office or position regulated by state campaign finance

laws, or

3. the success or defeat of referendum questions.

Existing law generally allows PACs to pay specific expenses to accomplish their lawful purposes.

Surplus Distributions (§ 7)

By law, candidate committees and PACs, other than exploratory committees or PACs organized for ongoing political activities, must generally spend or distribute surplus funds (1) within 90 days after (a) a primary when a candidate loses or (b) an election or referendum not held in November or (2) by March 31 following an election or a referendum held in November.

The bill establishes a surplus distribution procedure for IE-only PACs, other than those formed for ongoing activities. Specifically, it requires them to distribute surplus funds, according to the schedule outlined above, to (1) their contributors, on a prorated basis; (2) state or municipal governments or agencies; or (3) tax-exempt 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(19) organizations.

The bill eliminates provisions in current law that establish permissible surplus distributions for referendum PACs and instead subjects them to the bill's procedure for IE-only PACs.

Referendum PACs (§ 15)

The bill classifies referendum PACs as IE-only PACs and makes conforming changes. Specifically, it allows any person to establish an IE-only PAC for a single referendum question or multiple questions submitted to a vote on the same day. Under the bill, the committee may make IEs only for these purposes.

§ 4 — REPORTING IES AND COVERED TRANSFERS

By law, persons must disclose information about IEs they make that exceed \$1,000 in the aggregate by filing certain reports. A "person" is an individual, committee, firm, partnership, organization, association,

syndicate, company trust, corporation, limited liability company, or any other legal entity (other than the state or its political or administrative subdivisions) (CGS § 9-601(10)).

The bill does the following:

- 1. changes the period during which IE disclosure reports are subject to a 24-hour electronic filing deadline;
- 2. expands disclosure requirements for persons that make IEs without forming a PAC (known as "incidental spenders") and for IE-only PACs; and
- 3. conforms law with practice by requiring that, to disclose IEs, (a) incidental spenders use SEEC's long- and short-form reports and (b) PACs, including IE-only PACs, use SEEC's campaign finance forms for PACs formed in Connecticut.

As under existing law, IEs made for or against (1) statewide office or legislative candidates, or statewide referenda, must be filed with SEEC and (2) municipal office candidates or municipal referenda must be filed with town clerks.

Twenty-four Hour Report Filing Deadline

Under current law, a person must electronically file a disclosure report within 24 hours after making or obligating to make an IE that (1) is made or obligated during a primary or general election campaign and (2) promotes the success or defeat of a statewide office or legislative candidate.

The bill instead applies the 24-hour electronic filing requirement to these IEs made or obligated to be made during the period (1) beginning June 1 in a regular election year or, in the case of a special election for state senator or state representative, the day the governor issues writs of election and (2) ending on the day after the primary or general election for which the IE is made or incurred. In the case of a special election, a person that makes or obligates to make an IE that exceeds

\$1,000 in the aggregate before the governor issues the writs must electronically file the IE report within 24 hours after the governor issues the writs.

Additionally, the bill applies the 24-hour reporting requirement to IEs within this timeframe that promote the success or defeat of a referendum question proposing a constitutional amendment, convention, or revision.

For any other IEs (those not subject to 24-hour reporting requirements), the bill requires that IE reports be filed according to the same schedule as the periodic statements filed by PACs.

Disclosures by Incidental Spenders

Existing law requires persons, other than PACs (as discussed above), to disclose information about IEs they make using SEEC's long- and short-form reports (i.e., SEEC Form 26) (see BACKGROUND). The bill adds to the information that these IE-makers must disclose in these reports.

Under the bill, they must additionally disclose the following in the long-form report:

- 1. the name of the human being who had direct, extensive, and substantive decision-making authority over the IE being disclosed, as well as his or her mailing address, telephone number, and e-mail;
- 2. a certification that the person making the IE is not a foreign national (see FOREIGN NATIONALS above);
- 3. for the person making or obligating to make the IE, a statement indicating if the person files a report with the Federal Election Commission (FEC), IRS, or any similar out-of-state agency, and identifying information under which the filing is made;
- 4. generally, any street address that differs from any mailing address required by the form; and

5. for a referendum, its date, the question's text, and whether the IE supported or opposed it.

Under the bill, the short-form report must additionally disclose, for a referendum, the question's text and an allocation of the expenditure in support or opposition to it.

Disclosing Covered Transfers. As part of both the long- and shortform reports, the law requires a person to disclose the source and amount of any covered transfer of \$5,000 or more, in the aggregate, it received during the 12 months before the applicable primary or election if the IE (for which the report is being filed) is made or obligated to be made 180 or less days before the primary or election. The bill extends the requirement to covered transfers made to promote or oppose a referendum question proposing a constitutional amendment, convention, or revision.

The law exempts from this disclosure requirement a person that discloses the source and amount of a covered transfer in a report it files with the FEC or the IRS, as long as the person includes a copy of the report in the statement it files with SEEC. The bill extends the exemption to persons that include in their IE reports information sufficient for SEEC to find their FEC or IRS filing. The bill also extends this exemption to apply to similar out-of-state agency reports.

Under current law if a person makes the IE from a dedicated IE account, the IE report and disclaimer (see below) may include only persons who made covered transfers to it directly. The bill requires that the report and disclaimer include this information but removes a provision limiting it to only this information.

Penalties for Failure to File an IE Report

The bill increases the maximum civil penalties SEEC may impose for failure to file certain required IE reports. It also subjects IEs that support or oppose referendum questions to these penalties.

Specifically, existing law allows SEEC to impose a maximum penalty

of \$10,000 for failure to file more than 90 days before a primary or general election. The bill extends this penalty and the penalties described below to IEs that support or oppose a referendum.

For failure to file in 90 days or less before a primary or general election, SEEC may currently impose a maximum penalty of \$20,000. The bill instead allows SEEC to impose a penalty of up to \$20,000 or twice the amount of any unreported IE, including for a referendum, whichever is greater.

Currently, a knowing and willful failure to file an IE report is punishable by a fine of up to \$50,000. The bill instead allows SEEC to impose a civil penalty of up to \$50,000 or 10 times the amount of any unreported expenditure, whichever is greater.

In addition, the bill establishes personal liability for a civil penalty that remains unpaid after the latter of one year after the date when (1) SEEC imposed it or (2) a final judgment is issued following any judicial review of SEEC's action. Specifically, the bill makes the following individuals personally liable:

- 1. in the case of a committee, the chairperson and any officer or
- 2. in the case of a person other than a committee, (a) the CEO, CFO, or equivalent; (b) any other officer; and (c) any manager who had direct, extensive, and substantive decision-making authority over the IE or IEs made or obligated to be made.

§ 5 — PAC REGISTRATIONS

By law, most PACs must register with SEEC and designate a treasurer; they may also designate a deputy treasurer. The registration statement must include, among other things, the committee's name and purpose.

The bill expands the required contents of the PAC registration statement. Under the bill, if a committee files a report with the FEC, IRS, or similar out-of-state agency, the bill requires that the statement

include identifying information under which those filings are made.

In addition, if a committee is established or controlled by a person or individual acting as an agent for the person, the statement must indicate the person's name. If a committee is established or controlled by a person other than a human being, the statement must indicate the name of the CEO or an equivalent and a certification that he or she is not a foreign national (as defined by the bill). Current law requires only that a PAC established by a business entity or organization (i.e., a labor union) indicate the name of the entity or organization.

§ 8 — AGGREGATE CONTRIBUTION LIMIT FOR INDIVIDUALS

State law generally limits the amount that individuals may contribute to a specific candidate committee, party committee, or political committee. Additionally, current law prohibits an individual from contributing more than \$30,000 in the aggregate during a single primary and election to (1) candidate committees, (2) exploratory committees, and (3) slate committee for justice of the peace (in a primary). The bill removes this limit, thus allowing individuals to make unlimited aggregate contributions to these committees (see BACKGROUND).

§ 16 — POLITICAL ATTRIBUTIONS

Disclaimer Exceptions

By law, printed, video, and audio political communications (both IEs and non-IEs) must include certain attributions, known as "disclaimers." Among other things, they must identify the person making the expenditure for the communication.

The bill exempts from the law's IE disclaimer requirements (1) editorials, news stories, or commentaries published independently and without compensation in any newspaper, magazine, or journal; (2) banners; (3) political paraphernalia, including pins, buttons, badges, emblems, hats, or bumper stickers; or (4) signs with a surface area of not more than 32 square feet. These communications are already exempt from the disclaimer requirements that the law establishes for non-IE spending.

Referenda

Under current law, only the disclaimer requirements for printed communications apply to expenditures made for a referendum. The bill extends, to IEs promoting a referendum question's success or defeat, existing law's disclaimer requirements for IEs made for video and audio communications and telephone calls applicable to elections and primaries. Generally, each of these disclaimers must (1) include the name of the IE-maker and a statement that the expenditure was made independent of any candidate or political party and (2) state that additional information about the IE-maker is available on SEEC's website.

Additionally, communications made within 90 days before the primary or election must also state the names of the five persons that made the five largest covered transfers to the IE-maker, in the aggregate, during the 12 months immediately preceding the referendum. As under existing law for other communications, these disclaimers for referendum IEs may omit any person that made covered transfers to it of less than \$5,000, in the aggregate, during the 12 months immediately preceding the referendum.

Party Candidate Listings

Current law requires that party committees (i.e., state central and town) use the appropriate disclaimer in any print, television, or social media promotion of a slate of candidates (disclaimers by individual candidates are not required). The bill expands the disclaimer to cover organization expenditures for party candidate listings and extends it to legislative caucus and legislative leadership committees, as well as party committees.

By law, a "party candidate listing" is a communication that (1) lists the name or names of candidates for election; (2) is distributed through public advertising (e.g., cable television, newspapers, or similar media), direct mail, telephone, electronic mail, publicly accessible Internet sites, or personal delivery; and (3) is made to promote the success or defeat of a candidate or slate of candidates seeking nomination or election, or to

aid or promote the success or defeat of a referendum question or a political party. The communication cannot be a solicitation for or on behalf of a candidate committee.

§ 18 — SEEC INVESTIGATIONS

By law, SEEC receives complaints from the secretary of the state, registrars of voters, town clerks, and individuals under oath about alleged election law violations. It investigates and holds hearings as it deems appropriate (CGS § 9-7b(a)(1)). The bill narrows the circumstances under which SEEC must dismiss a complaint within one year after receiving it.

Time Limit

Currently, SEEC must dismiss a complaint it receives on or after January 1, 2018, if it does not issue a final decision on it within one year after receiving the complaint. However, the deadline must be extended if specified actions delay the final decision's issuance.

The bill relaxes this requirement for SEEC complaints received on or after July 1, 2022. It instead requires the commission to dismiss after one year any complaint for which it has not (1) found reason to believe a state election law violation occurred and (2) initiated a contested case proceeding.

The bill also (1) requires that the deadline for making this finding be extended for the same reasons that the final decision deadline must be extended under current law and (2) establishes additional reasons for extending this deadline. As under current law, the one-year deadline must be extended by the length of the delay.

Extensions

Under current law, the one-year deadline for SEEC to issue a final decision must be extended if its issuance is delayed for any of the following reasons:

1. extension or continuance granted to a respondent by SEEC or its staff before issuing the decision;

- 2. issuance of a subpoena in connection with the complaint;
- 3. litigation in state or federal court related to the complaint; or

4. consultation with the chief state's attorney, attorney general, U.S. Department of Justice, or U.S. attorney for Connecticut.

The bill similarly requires an extension, for these same reasons, of the one-year deadline for finding reason to believe that an election law violation occurred and initiating a contested case. (SEEC regulations generally prohibit the commission from proceeding with a contested case unless it finds, by a majority vote of a quorum, reason to believe that a violation occurred (Conn. Agencies Regs., § 9-7b-35).)

The bill also requires an extension if the finding and commencement are delayed because of an investigation by SEEC or its staff involving a potential (1) IE violation or (2) state election law violation by a foreign national (as defined in the bill, see above).

BACKGROUND

Aggregate Contribution Limits

In *McCutcheon et al.* v. *Federal Election Commission*, 134 S. Ct. 1434 (2014), the U.S. Supreme Court held that aggregate limits on contributions by individuals to federal candidates, political parties, and PACs were unconstitutional under the First Amendment.

In Advisory Opinion 2014-03, SEEC announced that, unless it received further guidance from the legislature or a court of competent jurisdiction, it would no longer enforce current law's \$30,000 aggregate limit on contributions by individuals during a single primary and election to (1) candidate committees, (2) exploratory committees, and (3) slate committees for justice of the peace (in a primary).

Foreign Nationals and Related Federal Law

Foreign Nationals. Federal campaign finance law defines a "foreign national" as any of the following:

1. a government of a foreign country and a foreign political party;

2. a person outside of the United States unless it is established that the person is (a) an individual and a U.S. citizen domiciled within the United States or (b) not an individual, has its principal place of business in the United States, and is organized under, or created by, the United States, a state, or other place subject to U.S. jurisdiction;

- 3. a partnership, association, corporation, organization, or other combination of persons organized under the laws of, or having its principal place of business in, a foreign country; or
- 4. an individual who is not a U.S. citizen or national and is not lawfully admitted for permanent residence (52 U.S.C. § 30121(b) and 22 U.S.C. § 611(b)).

Prohibited Activities. Federal law prohibits a foreign national from, among other things, directly or indirectly making:

- 1. in connection with a federal, state, or local election, a contribution or donation of money or anything of value; an express or implied promise to make a contribution or donation; or an expenditure or IE; or
- 2. a contribution or donation to a federal, state, or local political party's committee.

It similarly prohibits a person from soliciting, accepting, or receiving any contribution or donation described above from a foreign national (52 U.S.C. § 30121 and 11 C.F.R. § 110.20).

2021 FEC Ruling. In 2021, the Federal Elections Commission (FEC) dismissed a complaint alleging that foreign nationals made prohibited contributions opposing a ballot initiative in Montana. In doing so, the commission concluded that spending related to referenda and other issue-based ballot measures is outside of federal law's purview because it is not in connection with an election (i.e., a regular or special election, primary, runoff, or a party convention or caucus). It noted that federal law applies to spending on ballot measures only if the measure is

inextricably linked with the election of any candidate (FEC, MUR 7523 Stop I-186).

IE-Only PACs

In Declaratory Ruling 2013-02, SEEC ruled that, in light of a line of cases ruling that contribution limits to IE-Only PACs are unconstitutional, it would no longer enforce contribution limits to PACs that receive and spend funds only for IEs unless it received further guidance from the legislature or a court.

Long- and Short-Form IE-Reports

As part of these reports, a person must disclose the source and amount of any covered transfer of \$5,000 or more in the aggregate that it received during the 12 months before the applicable primary or election. This requirement applies if the IE (for which the report is being filed) is made or obligated to be made 180 days or less before the primary or election (CGS § 9-601d(f)).

COMMITTEE ACTION

Government Administration and Elections Committee

Joint Favorable Yea 14 Nay 5 (03/28/2022)